Carangas--
Chipaya

/125 cont./

The family. The Čipaya family like the Aymara is copied on the Creole model. Marriages are performed at the church and registered at Huachacalla. When I made a census of the population, I was able to observe that individuals of the same name have a tendency to group themselves in a specific part of the village. Certain names are characteristic of each of the sectors of the village: thus the Alabe, the Lopez, and the Pirka in Warta-ayl'u; the Kondori (1), the Mul'u, the Lasa in the other part of Tuanta; and the

1. Family names such as Mamani (hawk), Kondori (condor), and Kispe are purely Aymara and are borne by almost all the Indians of this race who do not have Spanish names.

Varal'i, Lazaro, Felipe, Kispe, Kispe, and Iaka in the ayu Tanata. Some other names, in contrast, are found disseminated throughout the village: thus /126/ the Mamani (1) /refers to footnote above/, who are as numerous in Tuanta as in Tanata. The Vilka overlap in Tanata and Tuanta. With the exception of the Mamani, the individuals whose names are distributed in all three sectors of the village alike represent only a few families that are practically isolated and probably emigrants. For example, there are only two Čima households, one of which occupies a hut built on the periphery of Warta, and the other at the end of Tuanta properly so called. This far-out position in the village indicates a nonlocal or recent origin. It is the same for the two Pirka, father and son, who are neighbors of one of the two Čima households in Warta.

My attempt at a census gave me the means to examine the question of exogamy at close range. The results of the study following this line confirmed the testimonies of the Čipaya on the absence of any restriction in this respect. The members of each "moiety" take wives from the other "moiety" as well as from their own. Tuanta wives are in large part from the Tanata section, but in

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The Religion

Preliminary Remarks

Aymara and Spanish influence. The Čipaya /Chipaya/ have probably been Catholic for a very long time. I do not know the date when they were converted but I presume it to have been a long time ago. It is possible that their conversion to Christianity took place at the time when a priest came to settle at Coipa, perhaps at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The churches of the neighboring Aymara villages were doubtless already in existence in the eighteenth century and perhaps even in the seventeenth. The one that stands in the middle of the Čipaya cities can hardly be more than 50 years old. The Indians were incapable of giving me information on this subject, as was the cura of Huachacalla on whom the Čipaya depend. These Indians are totally ignorant of all religious doctrine, for only once every, or less, do they receive a visit from their spiritual shepherd, who has nothing more pressing than to leave this desiert region and this wretched flock. The Čipaya nevertheless insist on celebrating their marriages or the birth of their children at the church; in each of these circumstances they undertake the trip to Huachacalla.

The religion of the Čipaya is essentially pagan as you will be convinced upon reading the following chapters. The relative isolation of this Uru tribe, the often superficial work of the first Spanish missionaries, the worldliness and lack of zeal of the modern Bolivian clergy have contributed in different degrees to the preservation of the beliefs and practices of the pre-Columbian epoch in this last village. So many causes must have favored the persistence of the past that it is difficult to explain to oneself /1935/ the number of Christian elements which are mingled with the ancient ones. The whole way of life of this fanatical people would make one think

9:La Barre E-6 (1937-1938) 1946
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the *Aymara*, the Uru distinguish siblings terminologically according to age.

Like

Marriage is now solemnized, if at all, with a Catholic ritual led by a priest who yearly visits the village. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married while standing back to back in the water of the lake. Postmarital residence is patrilocal. Although Pöle (1901) states that the Uru were formerly endogamous, a shortage of women during recent years has led men to take *Aymara* wives.

If the Uru ever had a tribal chieftain, he has long since been forgotten. Today, they have the typical altiplano native hilakata, or alcalde, appointed or elected yearly. Squabbles with *Aymara* neighbors are led by this official.

RELIGION

The Uru worship Pachamama, the earth goddess, and perhaps also a place-deity of the swamp, although they are nominally Catholic and have a small mud church in their village. Like the *Aymara*, they believe in dream interpretation, in meteorological signs, and in taking omens. Their sacrifices of alcohol, coca leaves, and animals to their deities are very like those of the *Aymara*. Bertonio (1879 b), however, lists several ancient Uru dances which have disappeared since the 17th century: the huaiño or sea quirkiña, and the chiy-chiy, in which bags are held in the hand.

The main Uru fiesta is at the vernal equinox, but has been changed from the 23d to the 24th of September to coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date, they blow panpipes (siku), sing and dance the mimetic, and perform the ancient rite of blood-sacrifice (wilancha) by slaughtering a llama and smearing the blood over the entrances of each hut. Most of the *Uru* beliefs and ceremonies are closely like the *Aymara*.

Most Uru-Chipaya folklore is similarly of the common *Aymara* stock of animal tricksters.

THE CHIPAYA

The Chipaya of Carangas (Bolivia) are linguistically identical with the Uru of the Río Desaguadero but differ somewhat from them in culture, though retaining in common certain ancient features. Whereas the Uru are chiefly a fishing and hunting people, the Chipaya are chiefly pastoral and practice a little agriculture.

CULTURE

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

The Chipaya, like many pastoral peoples, dislike to kill their animals, and they eat llama flesh only when these are ritually slaughtered at public fiestas or important private rites. Curiously, the Chipaya do

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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female baby, little girl = ul-tukus-wawa, kus wawa, tukus-wawa lu; young girl = pas-pak-uk; young woman = us.

Marriage. Marriage nowadays is solemnized with the rites of the Bolivian Catholic Church, if at all. There is a tradition that formerly couples were married standing in the water of the Lake back to back. Marriage is patrilocal, if this term has any meaning for a group like the Uru. More male than female children are born to the Uru, which is curiously the case with other ichthyophagous groups as well. Uru men commonly take Aymara women to wife, which accounts for the great acculturation in the direction of this tribe nowadays. A kind of *Amphipod* (*Hialella pallida*), transparent, and two to ten millimeters long, found at the roots of *totora* plants, is considered to be an aphrodisiac when toasted, according to Posnansky.

Political Organization. If the Uru at any time in the past ever had a tribal chieftain of any kind, the institution has long since disappeared. At present the organization of the group politically is the same as the compromise between ancient Aymara and colonial Spanish officials which is in effect elsewhere in the *altiplano*. The village "mayor" (Aymará *kilcata*, commonly called *alcalde* by the whites—from the Spanish *alcalde*?) is called in Uru *lupuli* or *tawatawiki* ("wearer of the necklace," from his insignium of office, a necklace). This official is "elected" yearly. The regional ranking official or *corregidor* at Jesus de Machaca is called *lusk lupuli* ("big lupuli"). Squabbles with Aymara neighbors are led by the *kilcata*. Anciently, it is said, Uru women accompanied the men into battle.

Dances and Ceremonies. Bertonio[*] lists several ancient Uru dances of the 16th century which have since disappeared: the *kuchka* (*kuča*) or *ni-a pairkiko* (*kirki'a*), and the *chiy-chiy*, in which "chuspas" (bags) or "quelquepos" are held in the hand. The chief Uru "fiesta" of today is that of the vernal equinox, which the Spanish missionaries moved from the 23rd to the 14th of September that the date might coincide with the Christian feast of the Exaltation. On this date they play *sikus*, sing and dance the "mimula," and practice the ancient pagan rite of the *wilancha* (<*wila*, Aymará "blood"?). The *pusiji'a* and *qoos lluton* are played at the dance of *Tawrila* on the date of Espiritu; the costumes for this dance are a little white apron or "tahanilla," a "poyo" or plumed hat, the "panina" or "panonilla" (a collar of feathers), and the *kamo* or tunic, white for men and brown or black for women. The "mimula" and "taurila" are said to be like dances of the Chiriguano.

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* Bertonio, *Vocabulario* 2, pp. 84 and 161. Other information, Posnansky *op. cit.*, p. 103.